

THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

DEVOTED TO THE ENLARGEMENT AND PERFECTION OF HOME.

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WHAT THE PAPER IS AND WHAT IT IS NOT.

The sub-heading under the title tells in as few words as possible what the AMERICAN SOCIALIST is; but to see how the object proposed in that sub-heading permeates vast varieties of discussion and information on Communism, Coöperation and all connected themes, political and religious, the paper itself must be read. To show what the AMERICAN SOCIALIST is not, we quote a passage from a letter received from a Shaker of very high standing in his order—in fact, a member of the Ministry, and surely a trustworthy witness for the point he makes. After reading the paper a year, he says: "I see that some are, as I was a year ago, misled by supposing the AMERICAN SOCIALIST to be the organ of the Oneida Community, when it seems no more to be the organ of that body than though such body had no existence. I have perused it with some care the past year, with others, and find it 'first best' of its class. Of all the *solidaire* Socialistic organs, it stands without a peer."

A COMMUNISTIC PLAN OF SUBSCRIPTION.

Old subscribers express enthusiastic appreciation of the paper, whenever they say any thing of its character; but it is evident that the hard times are bearing so heavily on the tax-burdened people, that they find it difficult to spare a dollar or two for a paper they really prize. Now and then an able-bodied man writes sending a dollar and apologizing for not sending two to pay for a full year, by saying that he has been laying by that dollar, a few pennies at a time, for several weeks! Others, yet worse off, ask us to give them a month or two more in which to prepare for a similar payment. Such letters touch us in a tender spot, and we shall do what we can, without actually entering on the credit system, to help bridge over present poverty. In a few instances wealthy readers of the SOCIALIST have sent five dollars or more to pay for the new volume, the amount in excess of two dollars being intended as a gift to us. Such cases are rare, but they suggest a method whereby the real spirit of Communism might act so as to relieve poor people and at the same time extend the circulation of our paper, notwithstanding the hard times. Let every person who can spare a dollar besides his regular subscription, and who is interested in our cause, send the dollar to us with the name of some poor person to whom he would like the SOCIALIST sent, and we will contribute the other dollar in every case and send a full volume. That is, we will contribute as much, in this way, as all others will send us. If the sender does not know a suitable poor person who would like to receive the paper, we will, when requested, suggest one of the many who apply to us and state his lack of means. This plan is exactly suited to the genius of Communism, which teaches those who have an abundance to help those who lack. There are plenty of men who can spare a dollar for such a cause as this, if they can but be appealed to. The success of any such plan depends on the earnestness with which our readers themselves will advocate and make it known.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Communications for the AMERICAN SOCIALIST are invited from all friends of its purposes. Its editors, however, must be the judges of the fitness of articles sent; and they can not undertake to return manuscripts that do not suit them, unless the writers expressly request it and inclose postage money when the manuscripts are sent.

All correspondence should be addressed to

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CIVILIZATION AND COMMUNISM.

I.

The definition of the word civilization in Webster's unabridged is: "The state of being civilized, refinement, culture." Though this definition may answer very well for a dictionary, it is evident that the word may be defined more fully; and to do this with sufficient clearness it seems necessary to contrast its meaning with that of barbarism or savagery.

The leading characteristics of savages are individual independence or self-reliance, acuteness of the outer senses, proficiency in the wisdom that pertains to themselves alone, mutual distrust, and superstition.

The leading characteristics of civilized men are mutual dependence, acuteness of the reasoning faculties, proficiency in the wisdom that pertains to society, mutual confidence leading to coöperation, and comparative freedom from superstition.

The distrust and independence of the savage are indicated by his wants and the methods pursued in supplying them. His wants are few, and relate almost exclusively to his physical nature. He satisfies the cravings of hunger with the wild game, fish and fruits which his native forests and waters produce, and for which he looks only to his own strong arm. He finds ready-woven clothing covering the bear, the deer, the buffalo and the furred animals, which he appropriates to his own use. He approaches as nearly as possible to our ideal of independence, because his few wants are supplied by his own efforts without an appeal to his fellows for help. Nevertheless, so far as he is dependent on his family or tribe for nurture and wisdom and the skill necessary to supply his wants, just so far does he advance into the rudiments of civilization. The principal traits of savages are also clearly manifest in the leading and most honorable business of the savage, namely, war. Indeed, war is the natural expression of distrust and independence, when not overborne by the civilizing influences of the tribal and family bonds.

On the other hand, the trust and mutual dependence of civilized men are illustrated by their numerous wants and abundant supply. In place of the few, timid wild animals of the forest, affording an uncertain sustenance to a sparse population of savage men, we have "the cattle upon a thousand hills," yielding of their abundance to their numerous and wealthy owners. Instead of such a scarcity of fruit that the Indian could picture the glories of his heaven in no better way than by representing it as preëminently a land of strawberries, we have single acres that yield their hundreds of bushels of that delicious fruit. In the place of the scant clothing stripped from the backs of the wild denizens of the forests, we have whole villages devoted to the manufacture of cotton, woolen and silk into material for human apparel. These great rewards, so inseparably connected with the mutual trust and dependence that characterize civilization, are so many bounties on peace and the cultivation of the arts of peace. So there is a natural affinity between civilization and peace, as we have seen that there is a natural affinity between savagery and war.

To illustrate the division of labor and the system of exchange that characterize civilization, we will inquire: How is it that one man can afford to give his whole attention to a single branch of production? What security has he that his pressing needs for food, clothing, means of traveling, books, etc., will be supplied, if he gives his time and strength so exclusively to the work, for instance, of raising strawberries? The answer is, that he is surrounded by a system of coöperation that brings to him the means of supplying every want, on the single condition that he will devote himself with energy and success to the work of supplying the single article of strawberries to his neighbors. Therefore he may give his whole time and talents to this work, unfettered by cares that would otherwise distract him. This is the secret of the wealth of civilized society. It gives each member leisure for concentrated effort. Every man is in circumstances where every inducement

is held out to him to produce the largest and best product. Society says to him: "Seek first the abundance and perfection of your special product, and all other good things shall be added unto you." Instead of hunting directly for food, as the savage does, the civilized man searches for a want in society, and the means of supplying it, well knowing that by supplying such a want he will not fail of his reward.

With these preliminary explanations, we may define civilization as a system of Coöperation that consists, 1st, in a division of labor into its thousand-fold branches, assigning individuals to each branch: 2nd, a system of exchange or commerce, whereby each individual partakes of the fruit of his neighbors' toil: 3d, resulting in the multiplication of human wants and their abundant supply.

Civilization pure and simple is a beautiful and glorious thing. If we could only have it in perfection, untainted with the barbarism from which we have recently and only partially emerged, we should now be realizing all of the glories of the kingdom of heaven on earth. The injustice, the oppressions, and the foul abominations that haunt modern society, are not the fruits of civilization, but of the savagery that we have not yet been able to shake off. The history of the world thus far has been that of civilization in deadly conflict with barbarism. We have as yet had scarcely a taste of the fair fruits that it is capable of yielding. In the crash of the conflict we can form no just estimate of the beauty, order and harmony that it can introduce among us when it shall have conquered its heritage.

H. J. S.

WHY IS IT SO HARD TO GET A LIVING?

Home Talk.

It is to be hoped that we are all gradually learning to hate selfishness. To hasten this lesson it is good to look over our accounts and see how much selfishness costs us. Let us ask ourselves, Why is it so hard for men to get their living?

To answer this question we must first see who it refers to. It is not hard for some men to get a living. A certain portion of mankind are born rich and find their living already got for them. Another portion are born with a special faculty for getting rich, and these, even if they begin poor, soon find riches rolling in upon them till getting, not only a living, but money enough for a thousand livings, becomes sport to them. Therefore, when we say that it is hard for men to get a living, we mean only that it is hard for the masses; and our question changes to this: Why is getting a living hard for those who are born poor and have only average ability? This is a sad fact, and a very large fact, for it applies to the great majority of mankind.

The answer that comes first to mind is that the few who get their living easily, take possession of so much of the wealth of the world that there is but little left for the rest. If one man gets enough for a thousand livings, he makes it hard for nine hundred and ninety-nine to get anything. And this is just what is going on everywhere. It is the natural working of the "grab game;" because a few only are born with special advantages and faculties for successful grabbing, and the many have to take up with what these few leave for them.

But you see easily that *selfishness* is the root of the evil in all this; for, suppose these same men, who, by the power of superior intellect and advantage of position, are able to accumulate immense property for themselves, should devote the powers which they have to providing for the masses around them; in other words, suppose they have the Communistic heart and an eye to the welfare of all; then these same powers of accumulation, instead of working against the masses, would work in their favor, and the result would be universal wealth. So that what is necessary to make it easy for all to get a living is not a change of the laws of nature and external conditions, but a change of heart from selfishness to Communism. The powers of production are sufficient, and in fact wealth is actually produced sufficient for all.

What is needed to make life easy for all is the unselfish heart in all.

But you will say this getting a new heart is too great a change to be expected—a condition as impossible as a change of the laws of nature. I say, No; it has been and is matter of fact. Paul was a man who could have made himself a millionaire; but he devoted his great powers to making others rich; and what he did was done by many in his day, and is being done by many (perhaps unknown to fame) in these days. In fact, what Paul did is the very essence of Christianity, as was shown by the epidemic of practical unselfishness which broke out on the day of Pentecost.

A second cause of the difficulty the majority of people experience in getting a living in the world as it is, lies in the fact that a vast amount of labor and expense is laid out on what in a right state of things would not be required at all. The army, navy, police officers, the whole train of courts of law, prisons, jails, etc., might all be dispensed with. They are all employed like firemen, not in accomplishing any actual good, but merely in suppressing evil. When a fire occurs all the firemen rally and put it out. They save property, but do not produce it. The entire police force of a nation, including its courts and prisons and all the officials connected with them, exercise a similar function. Their business is to restrain selfishness and prevent destruction; and they would be of no use in a truly Christian society. But self-interest makes them indispensable, and so long as this is the case the world must support them, and the expense of supporting them will make it hard for common people to get their living.

The governments of the world are a part of its police force, and to a large extent made necessary by selfishness. Under any system there would of course be required directors and governors of one kind and another; but there would in a true condition of things be no need of such enormously expensive establishments as now exist in most countries. The royal family of England, for example, draw annually from the people of England and her dependencies five million dollars—a sum more than equal to that which sixteen thousand laborers would receive if paid one dollar a day each during 312 days in the year; and yet, so far as the practical government of England is concerned, the royal family, as everybody knows, is of little practical utility.

This is an extreme illustration; every non-producer in society has virtually to be supported by others, and so increases the burdens of the producing classes. Useless expenses—that is, expenses involved in supporting the non-producers and in keeping up the police force of the world—must amount to more than half of the world's expenses.

But let us not fasten our attention too closely upon this matter of expense and loss. We shall not remedy the difficulty in this way. We must take a comprehensive view of the entire subject; and when this is done it will be seen that the primary cause of the whole trouble lies in the fact that the world is covered with selfishness; this leads to contention and violence, which make necessary courts and prisons and all the paraphernalia of law and government, and to the growth of a great class of non-producers who have to be supported by the workers.

Conceive, if you can, that the primal cause—selfishness—is removed; then the effects would of course cease. We should find that all men would have an abundance of the comforts and luxuries of life, with just labor enough to make it healthy sport, and plenty of time to educate themselves and be men. Without any change in the powers of nature and the relations of the physical creation to man, all would have plenty of time to get a living and attend to their own culture.

Let a community rise in which right hearts will produce and distribute for the general good; then drop off all useless expense; and it is evident that all the labor required to get a living would be mere sport. There are some in every community and neighborhood who have a natural faculty for money-making. That faculty or talent applied to the concentration of property around one man may become a means of oppression and misery to thousands; but exercised for the general good it becomes a means of prosperity and blessing to thousands. In the true condition of society the man who possesses the faculty of acquiring wealth will feel that it is his duty and his privilege to use it for the interest and happiness of all around him, and he will be despised by others and by himself if he uses it merely to make himself rich and independent of everybody.

What, then, is to be understood by the common saying, "A laboring man cannot support himself?" We understand by it, first, that society is so arranged and

governed that property is mostly in the strong grasp of comparatively few persons, and it is exceedingly difficult for the poor man to get his share by fair, quiet means; and, secondly, that he is saddled with a great amount of unnecessary expense. The question whether a man can support himself by the labor of his hands cannot be fairly tested as things are. He cannot win because he is so heavily handicapped with the burdens selfishness has placed on his shoulders. He might easily support himself if the laws of nature were alone concerned. He would then have little to do but to bear his part in the labor required to produce his necessary food and clothing. But to say a man cannot get his living where factitious and unnecessary labors are imposed upon him, is only saying that he cannot work with his hands tied.

SOCIALISM IN ENGLAND.

HISTORICAL REMINISCENCES BY E. T. CRAIG.

XXXVII.

Advantages of United Homes to women, youths and children. . . . Exclusion of intoxicating liquors and the effects. . . . Domestic arrangements. . . . No children allowed to sleep in vitiated atmospheres. . . . While great numbers were dying of fever and cholera around them, there was neither sickness nor death at Ralahine. . . . Society much to learn in rearing children. . . . Excess of carbon in the blood.

The Community at Ralahine had not been in successful working order for more than a few weeks when it became manifest that the greatest benefits arising from our social union, united efforts and enlarged homes were derived by the women, youths and children. The wretched cabins of the peasantry contributed largely toward their discomfort, their bad habits and their misery. It is impossible for children to be trained so as to exercise their better feelings and develop happy dispositions when reared in homes of poverty, filth and wretchedness.

In drawing up the rules for the Society at Ralahine it was arranged that no intoxicating liquors or tobacco should be kept in the store or be introduced on the premises by any of the members. This rule was deemed necessary to the peace, harmony and health of the members.

Much has been said and written about the difficulties arising from the sudden abandonment of habits to which the people have become accustomed. I have shown, in describing the condition of the peasantry, the inveterate custom of tobacco-smoking, and the violence stimulated by indulgence in whiskey, which prevailed among the people. The exclusion of stimulants was made to operate at once and to be permanent. Experience justified the adoption of this course, as will be seen as we record the facts. No inconvenience arose from the sudden abandonment of the custom of smoking, nor was any attempt made by any of the members to introduce intoxicating stimulants into the Community. The advantages to the women by the banishment of whiskey from our midst was soon very evident, for we had no drunken quarrels, so frequent among the poor when under the excitement of their poisonous "potheen," and accursed, burning "fire-water."

In making arrangements for united homes, it was necessary to have due regard for the health and character of the children of the Community. Heritage is a law almost ignored by the habits of competitive society. Idiocy, imbecility, and intemperance have a closer sequence than many are aware, while nicotine is a poison which destroys nervous sensibility, and lays the foundation of weakness and disease. The tobacco plant is a weed doubly injurious to the land and to the consumer, while the distillation of alcohol from grain is an improvident waste of capital and labor. The drunkard is the most helpless animal in creation. He becomes a burden upon others, a curse to those he ought to cherish, and a tax on the labor of society. In 1833, the quantity of malt used in Ireland for making beer, whiskey, etc., was 1,970,000 bushels. From this year there was a constant increase till 1836, when it amounted to 2,511,000 bushels. As the increased intemperance of the poorer classes kept pace with the increase of population and diminished prosperity, it may be inferred that greater poverty by increasing wretchedness and despair is one great cause of increased intemperance; while greater poverty is, in its turn, the natural and inevitable result of increased intemperance. It is a fact worthy of consideration that during the period of temperance in subsequent years there was a great diminution of crime. Murder, shooting, stabbing, assault with intent to murder, solicitation to murder, conspiracy to murder, manslaughter—when all put together—were committed 898 times in the year 1839; 503 times in 1840; and 502 times in 1841. In the two latter years the duty on spirits had decreased about one-third, showing an intimate relation between crime and alcoholic-poison drinking.

I had seen sufficient of the terrible evils of intemper-

ance to insist on the utter exclusion of whiskey from our store and dwellings. By the banishment of the cause of quarrels we had peace in the homes, at the weekly dances and other festivals. In the establishment of the Infant-school and play-ground, the mothers were relieved of a constant source of care and anxiety during the day, whilst they had the satisfaction of knowing that their children were, under the kindly superintendence of a competent teacher, acquiring healthy habits, good dispositions, pleasing manners, and a large amount of really useful knowledge and experience.

The domestic arrangements were also made so as to relieve the women from everything deserving the name of drudgery in household work, and thus helping to make the hours and days pass pleasantly along. Every married couple had a separate dwelling. The youths had separate dormitories and sitting-rooms. Only those infants that were not weaned were to sleep at home, unless by arrangement. The public are not yet aware of the vital importance of oxygen or pure air for the young. It is more necessary to secure perfect ventilation of apartments occupied by infants than for adults. Their blood and pulse move faster, and, like birds, they require double the supply of oxygen that adults need to repair the rapid waste of growth. Birds and children would die in an atmosphere where men would live. Adults require warmth; children depend more on pure air than adults. Hence the great waste of early life in crowded cities and miserable dwellings; where one child may live a greater number would die from want of oxygen to absorb the carbon of the blood. I was led by observation and experiment to the conclusion that an excess of carbon in the blood is the chief cause of diseases and of the destructive power of zymotic poisons. The vital force of the blood to resist disease depends mainly on the due supply of oxygen. These views were illustrated by many facts. In the case of a family named Wilson, in an agricultural village, sixteen out of eighteen children died in infancy. Only one daughter now remains. The rooms were only six feet six inches in height, and there were no fire-places in the bedrooms. In another family named Tyers in the same village there were twenty-two children born and only one girl lived to maturity. The parents of both families were healthy. If this were the place I could give facts of the like kind that would fill a volume, to show that society has much to learn with regard to the healthy rearing of children. Instead of children being sent to sleep in attics and stuffy, shut-up closets, they ought to have the loftiest, the sunniest and the largest rooms in the house.

As evidence of the physical advantages arising from our arrangements to secure the health and comfort of the people, it was a remarkable fact that we had not a single case of sickness or death during the existence of the Society, although, during the prevalence of cholera, in the epidemic of 1832, the people were carried off by scores, through fever and cholera, in the neighborhood around us. Limerick seemed like a city deserted, from the ravages of the plague and the footfalls of death.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF CHARACTER.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST:—In the AMERICAN SOCIALIST of May 9th you say most truly that great transformations of character are necessary for the realization of Communism, and how you think they are to be effected. Will you permit me to state my ideas upon this supremely important subject, and to point out how much they are in agreement with yours? If you do not altogether agree with them (though I do not see why you should not), still they are worthy of careful consideration, as they have reference directly and definitely to practical means by which the changes of character which are necessary for Communistic life may be effected, as you say, not by the slow process of "evolution," but by the rapid process of the communication of the required new ideas (or knowledge) and improved feelings.

And practically the process is as you describe. New ideas and improved feelings are to be communicated by the "heavenly influence" of those who have passed away from the visible world into that which is invisible. This is precisely what will take place. The discoverer of the New System, who has passed away from the visible world, communicates by his writings with us who remain in it. And by these means men will be enabled to make themselves acquainted with the process by which he acquired the character, the knowledge and the good and wise feelings, necessary for Communal life. The knowledge is familiarity with certain facts. By this means our attention is directed to these facts. And we are thus enabled to acquire the knowledge

which is needed. It is no longer necessary that we should pass through the slow process of making and verifying the discovery by degrees as he did. We are enabled by communication with him, through his writings, and by our "individual efforts for improvement," to pass, almost at a jump, from the state of not knowing to the state of knowing, which is needed. And, having done so, we are further enabled, by the same means, to acquire the feelings which are needed—the combination of enlightenment and goodness—by applying the knowledge, thus acquired, in the regulation of our social feelings and conduct, as I have described. We are thus enabled to acquire the necessary transformation of character by the very means upon which you so strongly and properly insist—by communion and fellowship with one who is no longer present in the visible world, and who was better and wiser than we are, but by whose influence, aided by our own individual efforts, we acquire the wisdom and goodness, or the enlightened goodness, which are needed.

You say truly that all past generations have contributed to evolve the "reservoir" of goodness which is now available to present and future generations. And it is thus that "we may reasonably anticipate immense and rapid changes in our world," and that "the cumulative force of experience will at last overcome folly and make virtue natural and universal."

The new knowledge was at first revealed to the world dimly and incompletely, as the day is divided from the night by an interval of twilight. By the corrections which have been made in the first imperfect ideas the darkness has been separated from the light, and the twilight has been converted into day. And now the means by which the required transformation of character, or of ideas and feelings, is to be produced, are prepared for all who will make use of the second, third and fourth classes of the agencies for improvement which you have enumerated and described. The first, "hereditary transmission," must of necessity be a work of time. But I need not say how much it will be expedited when parents have the characters which are to be desired in their offspring. And in the meantime the knowledge and the good feelings of the transformed character are accessible even to the defective offspring of the past who constitute the present generation. For it was found at New Lanark that *every* child who was subjected to the required influences was educated to be "good." The good feelings were given, as it were, by contagion, as you say; and the knowledge is so simple and easily acquired, when plainly pointed out, that any child who is not idiotic may be enabled to acquire it.

The consideration of this subject is so vitally important for the conversion of the world from folly to virtue, that I earnestly hope it will be continued in the pages of the AMERICAN SOCIALIST, in the spirit of the love of truth, and of the enlightened goodness in which truth is a necessary ingredient. Let us, in the words of Mr. William Frey, in his admirable remarks in the AMERICAN SOCIALIST, of Jan. 24th, "frankly open to one another our inmost thoughts and feelings,"... "humbly admitting that mutual assistance is needed,"... and "earnestly seeking the criticism of others." If we cannot agree upon all points, let us see how far we can agree upon points which are essential and practical. For Communism, like the ordinary sciences, should be accessible to men of all theological opinions—Christians, Jews, Mohammedans and Hindoos; Catholics and Dissenters; Trinitarians, Unitarians and matter-of-fact Religionists. The true Communist will open his heart to all.

HENRY TRAVIS.

COMMENTS.

We do not think it necessary that Mr. Travis and we should agree entirely in our views of the agencies by which character is to be transformed. We mentioned in our article on "Imported Righteousness," May 9th, four agencies, the last of which we called Spiritual Transmission, and we confessed our opinion that this is by far the most important of the four. Indeed, the title of our article referred solely to this agency. Mr. Travis seems inclined to set this agency aside and restrict himself (not to say us) to what may be called Transmission by Reading, which we classed under our third agency. We must be permitted to repeat our conviction that something stronger than reading or intellectual instruction of any kind, whether in Robert Owen's ideas or in those of Christ and the Bible, will be needed to prepare the world for Communism. Our hope is in the opening of vital communication with Heaven. And we judge that Owen himself, after his many trials and failures, came to rest in something like the same hope. He became a Spiritualist in his old age, and Sargant, his biographer, referring to chapter and verse in his writ-

ings, says: "He confessed that until he received the revelations of Spiritualism, he had been quite unaware of the necessity of good *spiritual conditions* for forming the character of men. The physical, the intellectual, the moral, and the practical conditions, he had understood, and had known how to provide for; but the spiritual he had overlooked. *Yet this, as he now saw, was the most important of all in the future development of mankind.*"

THE ERA OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

VI.

POSSIBLE AND PROBABLE METHODS OF TRANSITION.

EDITORS AMERICAN SOCIALIST:—It is with much hesitation, and under a deep and heartfelt sense of responsibility, that I commence this last article of my series on "The Era of Social Democracy." If I have shown an undue temerity and egotism in laying before your readers an ideal of industrial organization, and in claiming for it that it is the indispensable and unavoidable next great step in the progress of civilization, and moreover that it is in the *immediate* future, if not at our very doors; how much more presumptuous does it seem, in the midst of the chaotic conditions and conflicting interests and ideas that now surround us, and that are disturbing all nations, to venture to predict the course of events? The best excuse that I can offer is, that my words are not likely to have much influence in molding public opinion, as they will never probably reach any other persons than the readers of the SOCIALIST, and as these are all of them persons already thinking in the same general direction, the opinions I may utter will only be taken for what they are worth, and will be moreover subject to the severest criticism of the very last class in the community likely to be unduly excited, or to sympathize with or be influenced by sentiments dangerous to peace and harmony. In times like these, however, it behoves every one to be careful of every word he utters, even to a single listener, lest he should contribute by ever so little to fan the flame of personal and class antagonism that seems to threaten an appeal to force to adjust difficulties that may, perhaps, be much more quickly and completely settled in a manner consistent with humanity and with the intelligence of the nineteenth century.

The theory advanced by the Socialistic Labor Party for the final adjustment of the relations of Labor and Capital, and the consequent emancipation and elevation of the laboring classes, demands, it cannot be denied, the most radical revolutionary changes in the industrial and commercial system of the nation, and will be productive of quite as revolutionary changes in the entire fabric of society—commencing with the social condition of each individual member and ending with the supreme, controlling power that we call "Government." But it does not necessarily follow that these changes cannot be effected by other than *revolutionary methods*. I mean by "revolutionary," in this connection, methods that are extra-constitutional—methods and means not provided for in the Constitution of the United States. We claim that all the objects of the Socialistic Labor Party are included within the theory of the United States Government, and are indeed the very objects to secure and maintain which that Government was established. And we claim, also, that the Constitution provides all the machinery and guarantees necessary to adapt the institutions of the country to the continually changing conditions and requirements of a progressive civilization.

And here let me say, in a parenthesis, that I do not know of any feature of our political system in regard to which the Constitution is so pronounced and decisive as that it guarantees to every State—that is, of course, to every citizen—"a Republican form of government," and that this is the very feature that at the present moment stands in the *greatest danger of perversion*. And this, not from the Socialistic Labor Party, nor from any movement of the lower classes, but from the classes that have the ascendancy and give frequent and unmistakable manifestations of their sympathy with anti-republican ideas and institutions.

The Socialistic Labor Party sees in the false relations of labor and capital the *cause*—the all-sufficient explanation—of the inequitable distribution of the products of the coöperative labor of the people; the *cause* of the growing tendency to hereditary classes and castes; the *cause* of the accumulation of the surplus wealth of the nation in the hands of one class, and the consequent poverty and dependence of the other class; the *cause* that every increase in the artificial means of production redounds only to the advantage of the one class and to the still greater subservience and dependence of the

other; the *cause* of the monopoly of the land and all other natural resources; the *cause* of wild and reckless enterprises; the *cause* of wasteful expenditure and extravagance; the *cause* of public and private demoralization; the *cause* of poverty, vice, crime and misery in the midst of overwhelming abundance, and notwithstanding a general diffusion of knowledge and intelligence; the *cause* of corrupt elections and appointments to office; of class legislation, to the entire exclusion of public interests; of rings and lobbies; of a threatened war between political parties in the interest of the same privileged class that dominates them both, and whose object appears to be to inaugurate a war upon an issue that will absorb or set aside the *real* issues that are agitating the people, and which most demand immediate settlement.

The one object of the Socialistic Labor Party then is, to establish the relations of Labor and Capital—the two great factors of material civilization—on natural, just and scientific principles, no matter what errors, prejudices, "vested rights," or privileged monopolies may stand in the way. They find the one responsible, fundamental error of the present social system to be—the *assumed right of private ownership of the means of labor*; including in the "means of labor" the land and other natural resources, and the accumulated results of past labor in their productive use, including inventions and discoveries. They deny the right of private ownership to these indispensable requirements of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and they demand that the whole of them be placed under the ownership and control of the people collectively, and that all the coöperative industry and business of the nation shall be declared to be, and shall be conducted as a *social or public interest* on behalf of and subject to the equal ballots of the whole people.

And this object the Socialistic Labor Party proposes to accomplish by means of public agitation and discussion, through the instrumentality of their constitutional rights of free speech, free press, and open and free meetings. They depend for success upon the correctness of their theory, the evident justice of their claims, the complete collapse of the present industrial system the world over, the pending ruin of the middle classes, the rapid wasting away of the accumulated individual wealth of the nation, the utter helplessness and confusion of the capitalist classes, and, finally, that the times are ripe, and the change *irrepressible*. They propose to continue their peaceful course of agitation and education, *if no further aggressions are made upon their rights*, until a majority of the people decide at the polls in favor of the Revolution. This is the programme of the Socialistic Labor Party; and provided they are permitted to pursue it peacefully to the end, the change of ownership—the transition—will be effected with the least possible disturbance of the every-day life of the people, and with the least possible injury to individual interests. As Great Britain purchased and freed her slaves, and as America might have done the same with hers, and have thus avoided a costly, bloody and fratricidal war, so the people of the United States, collectively, can purchase the individual rights of citizens in such order and manner as may be deemed equitable and in accordance with public welfare.

Personally I am not in favor of endeavoring to capture one monopoly at a time, such as the banking monopoly, or the insurance monopoly, or the railway monopoly, for instances. The Government is so completely under the control of the capitalists that I believe its guardianship, of at least the railway interest, would only increase the magnitude of the evil. As Garrison advocated the immediate and total emancipation of the negro slaves, so the Socialistic Labor Party should advocate the immediate and total emancipation of labor, *the abolition of private capital*; and stand upon that issue till the day of complete and final success.

But I have little hope that they will be allowed to do anything of the kind. I can find no encouragement for such a hope on the pages of history, except in the one solitary instance of negro emancipation in the British West Indian Colonies, which is by no means a parallel case. I fear that the interests involved are of such transcendent importance, that individualism is so deeply rooted, that the errors in regard to the use of wealth as a source of income are so universally accepted by all classes, and that the influences in favor of these errors are so powerful, that nothing short of universal bankruptcy will awaken the great middle class—which is after all the backbone of the nation—to a sense of our condition. Yes, it is to the middle class, the small employers of labor, the proprietary farmers, the retail merchants, the professional men, and the most intelli-

gent of the wages class—that I look for our salvation. It is from this class that the already powerful Greenback movement sprang, and among whom it is now finding, and will continue to find, its recruits. True, it cares nothing for the interests of labor except so far as its own interests are involved. It has no idea of changing the present relations of labor and capital. It is simply trying to save itself from ruin, to lessen its dependence on the class above it, and to maintain its ascendancy over the class below it. But its efforts will be in vain. The shadow it is grasping at will continually evade its grasp, until at last—reduced to the impoverished condition of the working class—it will make common cause with them, abandon its selfish purposes and consummate the revolution.

But, Messrs. Editors, amid all these speculations, while these changes of opinion and purpose—this education in the school of adversity and necessity—are being effected, there exists the ever-present and alarming danger of which we had a foretaste last July. Unemployed, starving and desperate labor, conscious of its wrongs, but ignorant of the cause or remedy, *may not choose to wait*. This is one danger that I apprehend; but there is another that I dread quite as much, namely, aggressions by the ruling class. Alas, they have too much power to precipitate a conflict. They may think it their interest, aye, they may think it their *duty*, to do so; or they may bring it about by the very means they adopt to prevent it. What is more likely to do it than an increase of the army, or a limitation of the suffrage, or the suppression of meetings or newspapers? Business is at a dead-lock, all kinds of property depreciating in market value; is there not a possibility that, to break the dead-lock, a war may be forced upon us on a *false issue*, if only for the sake of averting the *real issue*? Time will show. W. G. H. SMART.

AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

THURSDAY, JUNE 13, 1878.

A PAPER ON Socialism, prepared by Rev. John H. Oerter, was read at a recent meeting of the ministers of the "Reformed Church in America," in which occurred the following admission: "It may be admitted that to a certain extent the idea of Coöperation is found in the Christian Community of the New Testament, and in the teachings of Christ and his apostles. Besides this, there are examples on record in history which go to prove that a blending together of common interests may become an excellent means of improving the condition of the laboring class, and to counteract one-sided mammonism." Beware, Brother Oerter! Retract this admission instantly, or the Reverend Joseph Cook may brand you as an idiot or blasphemer! For behold he hath said, on the authority of the great Neander: "Any attempt to twist out of that part of the Bible [namely the passage in Acts referring to the Communism of the Pentecostal Christians] authority for Socialism is not only idiocy but blasphemy." We repeat, stop that "twisting," Brother Oerter!

A CALL FOR STATISTICS.

"Although agriculture has made vast strides, and machinery has given immense facilities for the production of manufactures, the position of the laborer in both England and Ireland is worse physically than it was four or five hundred years ago. When the laborer received a penny a day he could buy a sheep with a week's wages. It would take a month to purchase one in England and a much longer time in Ireland when we began operations at Ralahine in 1831. In the middle of last century wages, after many fluctuations, settled down to a bushel and a-half of wheat. In the middle of the present century a farm laborer could purchase for his eight shillings, received for a week's work, only ONE BUSHEL of wheat. In the fourteenth century a week's wages would buy FOUR BUSHELS of wheat."

This paragraph, from E. T. Craig's serial on "Socialism in England," impressed us, at the time of its publication, a few weeks' since, as containing a remarkable presentation of the condition of English and Irish laborers at the date given. It has been generally supposed that their circumstances have been gradually improving during the last four centuries; and that is undoubtedly the case in certain respects. Their hours of labor have been shortened; they are, as a rule, better lodged and better clothed; their household conveniences have been multiplied, their educational facilities have been improved. And yet Mr. Craig shows that so far as subsistence is concerned—the obtaining of meat and bread by the wages of daily labor—the lot of the common laborer has steadily grown harder and harder, until the week's wages of a farm laborer, which four centuries ago would buy four bushels of wheat or one sheep,

would, in the middle of the present century, buy only one bushel of wheat and one-fourth of a sheep?

Our own country is comparatively young; our statistics cannot extend over a very long period; but it would be interesting and instructive to compare the prices of food and wages for even half a century. Will not some of our contributors who have the requisite data at hand prepare a tabular statement of this kind? The following table, which we find in *The Husbandman*, taken from the *American Almanac*, giving the prices of farm products from 1825 to 1877, is valuable so far as it goes. The prices given are the average prices in New York City for the month of January of each year:

Year.	Corn.	Wheat.	Oats.	Pork Mess.	Hams.	Lard.	Wool.
	Bush.	Bush.	Bush.	Bbl.	lb.	lb.	lb.
1825	\$0 42	\$1 01	\$ 27½	\$13 37	\$ 09½	\$ 08½	\$ 32½
1826	74	90	45½	11 75	9½	7½	34
1827	70	93	56	11 87½	10½	8½	25
1828	57	1 15	34	14 12½	9½	7	25
1829	59	1 63	30½	12 25	9½	5½	22½
1830	54	1 04	32	11 50	9½	8	21½
1831	58½	1 25	31½	13 87	10½	9	25
1832	75	1 26½	50	13 50	9½	8½	27½
1833	81½	1 19	49½	13 25	9½	8½	32½
1834	59½	1 06	44	14 50	9½	7½	32½
1835	74	1 05	40	13 75	9½	9½	27½
1836	90½	1 78	56½	18 25	12½	14½	32½
1837	1 06	1 77½	57	23 50	12½	10½	45
1838	86	1 92	42½	21 50	12½	10½	30
1839	92	1 24½	55	23 25	11½	11½	38½
1840	59½	1 06	33½	14 25	10	10	32½
1841	52	1 03	52	13 25	7½	7½	27½
1842	67	1 25	49	9 62½	6½	6½	20
1843	59½	88½	33½	8 87½	8	6½	19
1844	43	1 00	43	10 12½	9	5½	26½
1845	51½	1 02½	51½	9 31½	6	7½	29
1846	74	1 31	47½	13 56	6½	6½	27
1847	80	1 02½	40½	10 25	10½	9½	23
1848	77	1 25	50½	11 00	7½	7½	29
1849	64½	1 22½	41	14 18	8½	6½	26
1850	61	1 25	43½	11 81	8	6½	31
1851	64½	1 20	48½	12 18	8	8½	34½
1852	70½	1 09	47½	14 68	9½	10	31
1853	68½	1 32	51½	19 62	8½	10½	39
1854	82½	2 04	49½	13 43	7½	9½	39
1855	1 01	2 57	55½	12 62	8½	10½	25½
1856	93	2 14	46½	17 37	9	11½	32
1857	73½	1 75	47	19 67	10½	13½	35
1858	61	1 37	42½	15 75	8½	10½	29½
1859	80½	1 40	50½	17 57	8½	10½	38
1860	91½	1 45	46½	16 18	9½	10½	39
1861	73	1 44	38	16 12	8	10½	32
1862	67	1 38	40½	12 25	6	8½	47
1863	75	1 53	70½	14 43	8	10	63½
1864	1 26	1 82½	89½	19 87	11	13	28½
1865	1 95	1 85	1 03	35 25	20	23	55
1866	95½	1 87½	1 20	29 12	16½	19	70
1867	1 16½	3 00	80	19 12	12½	10	60
1868	1 20	2 45	85	21 00	12	12½	48
1869	1 20	1 70	75	28 00	15½	17½	57
1870	1 12	1 30	78	29 75	15	17½	61
1871	80	1 42	75	19 75	11	12½	48
1872	78	1 50	54	14 50	9½	9½	70
1873	66	1 67	68	13 25	9½	7½	70
1874	84	1 65	77	16 50	10	12	55
1875	97	1 25	65	20 50	11	13½	56
1876	71	1 30	59	20 75	12½	12½	49
1877	59	1 47	55	17 50	10½	11½	48

This table needs to be supplemented by at least three other tables covering the same period—one showing the fluctuations in the prices of such groceries as every family uses in proportion to its means; another showing the changes in prices of such dry goods as common wage-people have to use; and still another showing the prices of wages of farm laborers and mechanics for the same period. With these four tables, taking into account also the matter of rent and a few other things, it would be easy to determine whether, in the simple matter of getting a living for oneself and family, it has been becoming more and more difficult for the past fifty years in "our great and glorious country."

We have cross-questioned quite a number of septuagenarians and a few octogenarians on the point, and the result of our investigations thus far is to persuade us that it was easier for a laboring man to support himself and family and keep out of beggary and the poor-house forty and fifty years ago than it is in this Anno Domini 1878. If asked for our reasons we should say:

1. A day's labor would at the dates first mentioned buy quite as much corn, wheat, rye, pork, molasses, and other necessities of life, as it will to-day.

2. Rents and the charges of doctor, lawyer and minister have been much increased.

3. The standard of living has been raised, so that the poorest people demand as absolutely necessary many things that well-to-do people then got along without. For example, our octogenarian friends remember when it was a common thing for lads and lasses in their teens to go barefooted all summer, and even to church on Sunday. Now it would be regarded as disgraceful and a sign of utter destitution.

4. And more important than all: then labor for all able to labor was abundant. Now labor-saving machinery and implements have taken the place in our country of millions of workers. In some departments of labor one man by the aid of machinery can do the work which fifty years ago required a hundred hands. Then every man who could swing a scythe, a flail and an ax was sure of remunerative work from year's end to year's end; now thousands of worthy and capable men can only obtain employment for a few months in the

year, and in many cases spend more time in seeking work than in work itself.

If these are facts—if the great labor-saving inventions as at present managed actually take bread from the hungry, and make the rich richer—is it surprising that there is such a loud and almost universal demand on the part of laborers for radical changes? And are the monied classes wise in turning a deaf ear to their complaints?

But let us have the statistics, gentlemen. Who will furnish the required tables?

TESTS OR NO TESTS?

The Spiritualists of the country are just now considerably exercised upon the question whether mediums, and especially mediums for form materializations, shall be subjected to test conditions. In Chicago the lines are being sharply drawn between those who demand tests and those who think mediums ought not to be asked to submit to them. Two young mediums having been asked to give a series of test sances, and having declined to do so, a meeting of Spiritualists was called on the 22d of May, at which strong resolutions were passed by the majority who favored the test conditions. The editor of the *Religio-Philosophical Journal* of that city deems the matter of great moment to the future interests of the cause of Spiritualism. He says:

"The issues are clearly defined, and the lines are being closely drawn between the rights of the great public on the one hand, and the demands of a heterogeneous horde of speculators in Spiritualism on the other. The verdict of the Spiritualists of America is called for, and is fraught with momentous import to the cause of Spiritualism. If this heaven-sent cause is to be carried forward in the interests of an irresponsible class who profess to demonstrate its truth by spirit phenomena, and yet either decline to give reasonable proof of their claims or actually supplement their genuine powers with fraud, then we are ready to retire from the movement. On the other hand, if Spiritualists and investigators desire to know whereof they affirm, if they wish to rid the cause of its demoralizing features and place it where it will receive the respect and attention it deserves, we are ready to remain at our post and bear the brunt of the fray. Spiritualists, the decision rests with you."

Dr. Samuel Watson, formerly editor of the *Spiritual Magazine*, says, in discussing this subject in a recent article in the *Voice of Truth*:

"It is found by experience that strict test conditions not only remove skepticism from the minds of investigators, but strengthen [the medium's] powers. We are not surprised that persons attending sances, and paying their money to satisfy themselves whether materialization is true or false, should throw turpentine balls, make charges upon cabinets, and other demonstrations of violence, when test conditions that cannot inflict pain or suffering upon the medium are refused. Spiritualism has lost nothing by exposures of fraudulent manifestations. They have assisted in clearing away the rubbish, which has prevented the precious jewel from reflecting the glorious sunlight of heaven. Honest investigators have a right to demand the strictest test conditions, and we hope they will *always* do so."

Without wishing to take part in any controversy on the question at issue, we may be permitted to express our hope that the party favoring test conditions will prevail. Everybody can see that the cause of Spiritualism is suffering greatly from the impositions and frauds of its professed friends, and that the only way for it to maintain its hold on the attention of the better part of the public is by its apostles challenging the sharpest scrutiny under the best test conditions.

A QUESTION ANSWERED.

Blue Grass, Iowa, June 3, 1878.

W. A. HINDS—Dear Sir: I am very much pleased with your "American Communities." It is just what I wanted, giving, as it does, complete information on the subject of Socialistic enterprises. It is written in the most candid style; then it is printed beautifully on nice paper; which altogether make the book very valuable to me. The picture of Mr. Noyes gives one a pleasant impression of the man, and the views of Community buildings indicate refinement and wealth.

Now as I am much interested in the subject of social and spiritual improvement, I take the liberty to ask you a question. If I understand the principle of Communism it means absolute equality; but how do the Communities manage, for instance, when a member wishes to make a little journey, say to visit a relative or friendly acquaintance? Or suppose an individual has a desire to obtain a certain book or instrument of music for his own private use; or suppose he desires to subscribe for a certain paper not taken in the Community: in short, how could an individual gratify such personal desires when unobjectionable in themselves? C. Z.

REPLY.

Our correspondent says, "If I understand the principle of Communism it means absolute equality." In a certain sense, this is true; in other senses it is not. There may be, for example, in a Community, equality in respect to educational privileges, and yet persons will very unequally avail themselves of these privileges, and so of other things. Besides, the Bible principle that

"every man shall be rewarded according to his works," will find some place in every well-organized society, whether Communistic or not.

In respect to the gratification of such individual desires as you mention, such as making a journey, buying a book or musical instrument, each Community doubtless has its own method of meeting such points. In the Community with which I am best acquainted there are Committees appointed to consider such matters and decide with reference to them. These Committees consult both the public interest and the interest of individuals, and advise according to their best judgment in view of all the interests concerned. Such things are, indeed, determined in a well-ordered Community very much as they are in a well-ordered family, where each member is expected to consult the rest when he wants to make a journey or an investment of any considerable amount, and considers that the general approval of the family is essential to his individual happiness. Such a person, if he found that the interest of the family as a whole was likely to suffer by the execution of his individual plans, would cheerfully consent to their modification, and abandon them altogether if need be.

There is, however, this difference to be noted. In common society every adult male at least can, if he chooses, act independently. If neighbor Jones takes a notion into his head to buy a fine carriage for his own individual use and pleasure he can do so without even asking the consent of Mrs. Jones or of any of the little Joneses. That, according to our way of thinking, would be a foolish act on the part of Mr. Jones, but no one could prevent it provided he had the required money or credit. Nothing of that kind could, however, be done in a Community. Every member is under the necessity of acting in consultation with others, and of having his own plans and desires modified by the general interest of his associates. Such modification becomes easy after a time, but it must be admitted that men and women who have been in the habit of doing as they like, without reference to others, do not at first find it agreeable.

My impression is that in all the Communities—religious and non-religious—individual wishes and projects are similarly modified, excepting that in a few of them members are allowed to earn by extra labor small sums of money which they are at liberty to expend as they please, and in others those who have not advanced to the highest grade of membership may, at their option, draw out and use the money brought by them into the Society. But these exceptions are manifestly illustrations of imperfect Communism.

W. A. H.

REVIEW NOTES.

First Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, made to the General Assembly of Ohio, for the year 1877. Columbus: Nevins & Myers, State Printers. 1878.

This work, though hurriedly compiled (it having been sent to the Assembly of Ohio seven months and fifteen days after the passage of the Act creating the Bureau), does credit to the ability and enterprise of its author, Commissioner Walls. It contains 350 pages, crowded with statistics showing the present condition of the manufacturing, mining and agricultural industries and workmen of Ohio. And no one can read it without receiving the assurance that Mr. Walls brought to the execution of his commission special qualifications. He understands the history of the rise of workingmen, and traces it from the time when they were regarded as no part of the State. He, indeed, begins his Report by quoting the saying of Aristotle, that "although artisans and trades of every kind are necessary to a State, they are not part of it," and shows that this idea prevailed with governments until a recent period. Magna Charta conferred no rights on laborers. They were considered as belonging to the soil, and sold with it. As late as 1775 miners in Scotland were bought and sold with estates, and if they ran away could be brought back by summary proceedings before a magistrate. In Prussia, "prior to the edict of 1807, the villein could be held to unlimited service, and could be deprived of his holding and removed to another. His children could not marry without the consent of the lord. He could be punished for failure to do a certain amount of work."

The upward movement of workingmen in civilized nations has been the result of a prolonged struggle. The governing classes have sought to determine the rights and privileges of the laborers, and to depress wages; the latter in turn have sought independence, the control of wages, and the enlargement of their rights and privileges. As a specimen of restrictive class legislation it is cited that in England in 1363 an act was passed enjoining carters, ploughmen and farm servants generally, not to eat or drink excessively, nor wear

any cloth except "blanket and russet of twelve pence."

Slowly legislation became less one-sided; but in 1562 the justices were authorized to fix a rate of wages, and "whoever gave more money should be fined and imprisoned;" but, take notice, there was no penalty for giving or taking less than the amount fixed by the justice. The same statute also fixed the hours of labor.

"In 1720, this statute was yet in force, and a special act was enacted that year against the tailors of London, to prevent them raising their wages, and fixing the penalty at two months' imprisonment for taking more wages than the act allowed.

"It was not until 1795, that a workman could lawfully travel in search of employment.

"In 1799, a case was tried before Lord Kenyon, in which some workmen were charged with combining to raise their wages. In the course of the evidence, it was stated that the demand of the journeyman was based on the fact that some other employers were paying more than the statutory wages. Lord Kenyon said that 'masters should be cautious of conducting themselves in that way, as they were liable to an indictment for conspiracy.'

"The change from serfdom to freedom, under the wages system, was very gradual. The lords and nobles were very tenacious of their old privileges, and fought every attempt to wrest such privileges from them, while, on the other hand, the change was not an unalloyed benefit to the generation that succeeded in securing liberty to work for wages; for while in serfdom they were always sure of enough to eat, of a certain kind; just as soon as they worked for wages, their supply of food depended on their ability to secure employment and their willingness to be employed."

The work before us gives interesting statistics concerning the comparative prices of wages and food, which we may make the subject of a future article.

Its remarks upon trade-combinations and coöperation are well considered.

Other States than Ohio have their Bureau of Labor Statistics, and every State should. Much of the intensity of the struggle between the different classes of Society undoubtedly arises from ignorance, which can only be dispelled by carefully compiled statistics, such as are contained in the Report of Commissioner Walls.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Vineland, June 4, 1878.

EDITORS AMERICAN SOCIALIST:—The article in your paper of May 30 from the *Banner of Light*, purporting to give a report of a conversation between Robert Owen and the late Dr. Channing, in the spirit world, has taken my attention. In this reported conversation Mr. Owen is represented as accounting for his failure to establish a Community in his native land, by the "selfishness of humanity."

That Mr. Owen was deeply grieved at the failure of the attempt to found a Community in Hampshire, England, I am fully aware. When failure seemed to be imminent, he said it would shorten his life, which I believe it did, and that of many others also. But as his leading idea was that men's characters are formed by the circumstances surrounding them, it was not his habit, in this life at least, to complain of men's actions.

As far as I could judge at the time, the failure at Tytherly, Hampshire County, was owing to very different causes. It was a great hobby of Mr. Owen that everything should be done in first-class style; and in carrying it out he stopped at no expense. The Community had an excellent estate on a lease of 99 years, with power to reduce the rent to a nominal sum. In building the dwelling for the members, Mr. Owen sent to London for Mr. Cubit, a first-class architect, who contracted for the building. The floors and partition walls were made double to deaden all sound between the apartments; and so on all through. A vineyard was planted, and water-pipes laid underground, with hydrants for irrigation. A superintendent of agriculture was employed at a high salary.

The funds for these great expenses were raised by the subscriptions of the members of the Society throughout the country; also by loans. The members had considerable of a burden altogether. First, they built Halls of Science, in which to hold their meetings; also subscribed to a fund for the payment of regular lecturers, and in addition subscribed to the Community Fund for supporting the Tytherly experiment. For several years this great experiment was carried on, but it never was self-supporting. Finally, the members became tired of subscribing to an establishment which ought to have been self-supporting with proper management, and it succumbed, in spite of all efforts.

In the various opinions given of the causes of failure, perhaps that of Mr. Tidd Pratt, the Registrar-General, was as nearly correct as any. He said that Mr. Owen had attempted to build a magnificent arch, but the plan was

on too great a scale, and the work fell before reaching the key-stone

The failure of the Women's Hotel in New York may be taken as a similar blunder. Building a palace, to be supported from the incomes of working people, is altogether too glaring a miscalculation.

Mr. Owen had all the moral qualifications for a leader in the great work he undertook; but intellectually, as an organizer, he was deficient. J. DONBAYAND.

CEREBRUM ABDOMINALE.

XII.

The Bible is like an orange. Its literalities are the peel, and the hard, cold intellect dealing only with the peel makes a wry face, but the heart seeking deeper finds the inside full of juice and richness. The influence of the Bible is to cultivate the heart, and it is in the cultivation of the heart that the Bible may rest for its final election. The good heart will love it in spite of its inaccuracies, discrepancies, absurdities and moral obliquities even. As in water, face answereth to face, so the Bible to the heart of man. Its scenes and stories interest the heart. Its portraits of character make a heart gallery.

Among these portraits is one in particular which we are apt to think of in connection with our subject. It is that of David, the son of Jesse, whose personality is more intense than any character that Scott or Dickens ever conceived. David's heart appears in all that he said and did. Imagine him, if you can, with a great forehead and hollow breast. "Magnificent ganglions," Bulwer would have said, under David's belt. Was the Lord looking at these when he said to Samuel, as the older sons of Jesse passed in review before the prophet, "Look not on his countenance or on the height of his stature; man looketh on the outward appearance, but the Lord looketh on the heart?" David's ruddiness was a token of his passion temper. His blood beat strong. He was not sallow with an overwrought brain. He was not a dull-head; his mind was quick enough, but he was no student and book man, as Solomon was. Solomon was a naturalist, an observer of material phenomena, a speculative philosopher, but David's emotions were potential; he felt rather than thought, and he was the greater of the two.

See him as a shepherd boy. He is a cunning player on the harp. He can cast a spell with his music. It is not in strings to do that; it is the magic of the heart. He wins the love of Saul and Jonathan at sight almost. Then see his youthful courage. What does Plato say about courage? He says it is a virtue of the breast. See David's courage when he says to Saul, who is dismayed, and all Israel with him, at the challenge of Goliath, "Let no man's heart fail because of him, for thy servant will go and fight with the Philistine." Faith was the bottom of his courage, and faith is indigenous to the heart. There is no God to the senses. David shut his eyes and followed his heart, which was swelling with indignation at the infidel's defiance, and which burned to honor the God who "saveth not with sword and spear." "Magnificent ganglions!" Turn them out against giants. The women were captivated by his valor, and came out of all the cities of Israel with music and dancing, with tabrets, with joy and instruments of music, and answered one another as they played—these saying, "Saul hath slain his thousands," and those answering, "David his ten thousands."

Imagine David as a friend—what friendship he inspired! "The soul of Jonathan was knit with the soul of David, and Jonathan loved him as his own soul." The reiteration of Jonathan's love is most pathetic. See the manner of their parting once when David fled from the anger of Saul: "They kissed one another, and wept one with another until David exceeded." See David's heart in his immemorial lament: "I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathan; very pleasant hast thou been to me; thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of women." David's heart was so big he was not ashamed of emotion. He was not ashamed to weep, to kiss, to seem unmanly.

Ennobling as his passions were for the most part, it must be confessed that one of them, in its strength, led him into an awful course of sin. But the criticism of Nathan and the death of the idolized child took such powerful effect on his susceptible nature that there is reason to believe it was his only sin of that kind, and that the affair altogether produced a permanent brokenness of heart which made him a better man all his life after it. His relations with Michal and Abigail, and with Bathsheba after their marriage, appear to have been entirely chivalrous and tender, without sensuality or debasement.

His filial affection is revealed in the fact that, though

he was the eighth son, we find his father and mother with him even in his outlawry, and he caring for them, procuring them a refuge at one time with the king of Moab.

His love for Absalom has been the theme of poet and artist, and makes an incomparable idyl. What a mighty grief! "O my son Absalom! my son, my son Absalom! would God I had died for thee, O Absalom, my son, my son!" The throbs of his anguish vibrated through the nation, and "the victory that day was turned into mourning unto all the people." Nothing could be heard but the loud cry of the king, "O my son Absalom! O Absalom, my son, my son!" Joab was thoroughly mortified and vexed. He thought it was only reasonable that David should rejoice at Absalom's death. Absalom was his enemy. But David was overwhelmed with the sensations of his all-mastering heart. It was his son that lay dead. He had charged Joab, "Deal gently for my sake with the young man, even with Absalom." But Joab was merciless, and thrust his darts through the heart of the son, and crueller darts through the heart of the father. It was of him and his brother that David had said before, "These men, the sons of Zeruah, are too hard for me." They were brutal and coarse, treacherous and vindictive. They had hearts of stone, but David's heart was a heart of flesh. David's capacity for enjoyment as a father may be measured partly by his capacity for suffering in that relation. So it is with the passions.

But after we have gone the whole round of human affections and found David rich in every one, we have not told all the wealth of his heart, no, not half of it. When he was a stripling it was said of him, "*The Lord* was with him," and his love for this Being was his strongest passion. His intuitive nature opened him to spirits. That sense in the heart which adapts us to relations with the invisible world had the same strength and vivacity, doubtless, that his inferior passions had. At any rate, his acquaintance with God was very personal and familiar, and he loved him with a love surpassing any other love he had. Solomon's poetic frenzy was inspired by Pharaoh's daughter, but David's songs were all indited to the Lord his God. In the Psalms we feel the bounding pulsations of his heart.

One way that he inflamed his passion was by reading what Moses wrote about God. "O how I love thy law," he says; "it is my meditation all the day. How sweet are thy words unto my taste! yea, sweeter than honey to my mouth." Compare this with what Solomon says to his bride, "Thy lips, O my spouse, drop as the honey-comb: honey and milk are under thy tongue."

Gratitude is a very pure strain among the feelings of the heart; the will and intellect have little to do with it. It is no gratitude, as Whately has shown, if it is not spontaneous; and the genuine thing is very rare. Where you see it you may be sure there is a fine nature. David was full of it. Nobody can read his Psalms and not wonder at him. They are the very poetry of gratitude.

We have done but feeble justice to our theme, but believing in David's God, there is this charm to us in studying David's character: it is said that David was a man *after God's own heart*; and because congeniality implies likeness, we think we are studying God's constitutional qualities in studying David's.

THE phonograph has been introduced into Canada, the West Indies and South and Central America. The United States is mapped out into phonographic districts, and placed under the charge of different persons who officiate as phonograph exhibitors, the object being to create a general demand for the perfected instrument, which it is expected will be completed next October.

MR. EDISON is at work on what he calls a telescophone—an ear-trumpet so constructed as to enable one to hear ordinary conversation at a long distance. Of this new instrument a gentleman, who has tested it, says:

"I applied one to my ear, and could hear a man talking who was across a field, nearly a mile away. I heard every word he said. Afterward he seemed to raise his voice a little, and when I saw him afterward he said that then he had shouted at the top of his voice. There is no connecting wire here, as in the telephone. Everything depends on the wonderful properties of the ear-trumpet, which is constructed on a radically different principle from those that have been in use so long. By this instrument it is expected that deaf persons—except those who can't hear a cannon fired at their elbow—may hear anything said on the stage at the theater."

A LABOR FESTIVAL AT THE FAMILISTÈRE AT GUISE.

Translated from *Le Devoir* by James B. Herrick.

It is the first Sunday in May at two o'clock in the afternoon. The sun sheds his bright rays over all; a warm, soft breeze stirs the fragrant lilacs. Not a cloud in the sky; not a particle of dust upon the roads. The rain of the preceding days has left no other trace than a greater freshness of the fields and a richer blooming in the orchards. In a word, it is one of those rare days not soon to be forgotten.

Everything invites to a walk, and we would naturally expect to find the little village of Guise, usually so quiet, deserted. But no, it is very far from being deserted; an unwonted activity reigns; 'tis even thronged, rare occurrence; and the crowds in holiday dress move with joyful air toward a common meeting place. Where are they going? You shall know. Come with me, dear reader, and let us follow the tide.

Here we are in the vast quadrangle of the Familistère, used as a market-place, and where thousands of persons are moving about. But it is not this which interests you; your attention is attracted to the buildings which surround this place, and which differ wholly from those usually found in small villages. That charming building on the south is the theater. The two symmetrical buildings on the right and left of it are the schools belonging to the Familistère, and not to the village. Finally, that low building extending as far as the river, is an out-house used for sundry domestic purposes and containing, among other conveniences, a meat shop. But these buildings, however grand they may seem, are small when compared with the large group of buildings which form the three remaining sides of the quadrangle, and which contain the dwellings of the Familistère. These dwellings present 266 windows on this side alone, and this façade gives but an imperfect idea of the total dimensions of the Familistère, since we see but one side of the three vast parallelograms that compose it.

We will approach.

The tower which crowns the middle of the central building has been decorated with flags and tricolor banners; from the belvedere the view extends far up the valley of the Oise, over innumerable windings of the river, and across the verdant hills among which it flows. Below, the eye wearies with beholding the lawns and gardens which surround on three sides this veritable Social Palace.

But the belvedere is too high for us to go up to-day. Let us go in at the grand entrance, which is at the foot of the tower and which is also decorated with flags. In the center of the decoration is the inscription in flowers on a green ground: *Festival of Labor*. Take note, I pray you, that it is not some Catholic saint who is honored in this way; it is something better; it is labor. Does this surprise you? There are many other things which will astonish you; and since you do not yet know the Familistère it is now a good time to get acquainted with it. Let us go in. Here we are in the court of the central building, adorned with decorations to-day in honor of the triumphs of toil. The whole tower of this parallelogram, being 45 meters by 20, is crowned with garlands of national colors interspersed with wreaths of evergreen and hazel leaves; escutcheons in relief bear devices appropriate to the occasion.

We may say here that this arrangement of courts is admirably adapted for festivals. No dust, the ground being covered with a bed of hard cement as smooth as asphalt; no fear of cold draughts, for an immense glass roof covers all the court at the height of the buildings. Three rows of galleries, one above another, surround the court on all sides. The dwellings open on these galleries. There are no corridors; this arrangement being more healthy as well as more gay. These galleries are to-day very lively; they are always somewhat so; there is going and coming, meeting and talking, or lounging on the barriers to watch the scene below.

It is an improvement on the old order of things, but indeed there is nothing here but improvements. You see that upon the ground-floor the stores open on the court. Dry goods, notions, groceries, you can find anything there, for the housekeeper can at all hours make her purchases without any need of going into the street and without fear of a single drop of rain.

Notice that though the day is sunny and a crowd moves in the court, still the temperature is agreeable. It is because precautions have been taken to keep it always so. There are large openings in the glass roof for the escape of warm air, and fresh air comes in from without through subterranean conduits which open in the floor of the court and allow the air to pass through

grated coverings. A system of ventilation is thus maintained, so that air never stagnates in the court. The dwellings are also well ventilated, for they are so constructed that they form a double row of chambers one opening on the inner court, the other facing on the outside front.

Half past two. A procession of the school children of the Familistère enters the court. They have formed in a building devoted to the young, and to this we will introduce you some other day. Now the little boys and girls advance in two files, the former in their best Sunday clothes, the latter in their freshest spring toilets; pleasure lights up their bright faces and sparkles in all their lively glances. Some of the scholars carry gay-colored banners, on which are inscribed in letters of gold the studies in which they have made the most improvement. Other children bear their rewards in the form of decorations or colored ribbons.

Notice the cleanliness, good deportment and perfect discipline of these children. It would be difficult for you to find in the whole country any school that can excel this one, especially if you look among the laboring classes, for before you are only the children of workmen.

Here comes a brass band in lively uniform to take the head of the procession. You almost doubt your eyes at seeing these musicians so perfectly neat and clean when you know that most of them have very dirty occupations; for instance, several are employed all the week at coal-heaving and others work in black lead. These musicians are iron-foundry men, but nevertheless they play as well as many other bands. Every evening after work-hours they practice music a little.

Three o'clock. The procession is now in motion. Let us follow it. We are now in another court, the one which is surrounded by the eastern wing of the Familistère. This court is built on the same plan as the others in good proportion. The western wing incloses another court just like this one.

The procession goes out, passes the green, and moves toward the theater building; there, it goes in. Let us go in with it and take a box.

It is a very pretty theater, with three rows of galleries and a glass roof which allows it to be used during the day for festivals or conferences. Light falls freely into the vast space filled with the murmur of the festival mingled with the laughter of children. The public crowd the galleries. The choir of children and the band occupy the parterre. Masses of scarlet geranium form steps of flowers between the parterre and the stage, where M. Godin, the founder of the Familistère, is sitting surrounded by the elected chiefs of the different councils of the Association and ten of his workmen, chosen from among his oldest hands.

After some pieces from the orchestra, the brass band and the delightful choir of children, who sing with perfect correctness and good taste, M. Godin delivers an address. He gives an account, in a fervent, extemporaneous speech, of what he has done up to the present time for the amelioration of the condition of his employees, and in what manner he intends to finish his work among the participants in the benefits of his enterprise. He speaks simply and gives figures in verification. The audience, a little noisy at the opening of the ceremonies, listen to the statistics with marked attention. It is only right that they should, for they hear a statement of the utmost importance. These figures of M. Godin set forth the results of putting into practice a new principle.

It is not mere coöperation; it is not a simple participation of workmen in the profits of industry; it is more and better than that. It is *association real and actual of capital, labor and talent*, to such an extent that the workmen and employees have this year been participants in the division of profits to the amount of 104,110 francs. You perceive that it is no vague dream, but a matter of fact, and of substantial fact too.

The ceremonies terminate amid great applause, and the audience disperse to the gardens of the Familistère, where they take part in the many games and pastimes which await them there. Follow the crowd into the gardens. The space devoted to pleasure-grounds is extensive, as you may see; it occupies all the space between the dwellings and the banks of the river Oise, which form a complete semicircle around them. There are also pleasure-grounds on the other side; among others a place where a group of festive workmen in a green bower are practicing archery. A fine row of chestnut trees, impenetrable to the rays of the sun, follows the bank of the river at a few paces from it, and under their shady branches laughing children are rolling in the high grass.

While the workmen and their children are enjoying

the games or preparing for the ball which will take place this evening in the grand court, reflect, I pray you, on the advantages which these people have for good health and enjoyment in this vast aggregate of buildings, institutions, and gardens, which we call the Familistère.

You have only seen the outside so far, and that, too, in a very imperfect way. I have said nothing about the lighting, water-service, and the arrangements for keeping everything clean—another time we will return to these—but for to-day it is well for me to give you an idea of some few of the institutions which are operative in the Familistère. The following are the principal ones:

A fund for the relief of invalid workmen, old men and women, orphans and destitute.

A fund of provision for the sick.

A fund for medicine.

A nursery for little babies.

A department for small children.

Infant schools.

Primary schools.

A full and varied library.

A club-room for various games, supplied also with an abundance of newspapers.

A bathing establishment and laundry, which help all to keep neat and clean.

Three doctors attend the Familistère, and may be chosen at will by the patients.

Finally, savings-banks are organized in such a way as to furnish the highest inducements for laying up money.

You see that nothing has been spared to guarantee to the workman the *indispensable minimum* for the use of those who for the time being or for any special reason cannot make a living by their work.

And now what think you of this enterprise when you know that it is the work of one single man and not that of an Association? This man has been obliged to struggle against the hostility of public men, and against what is harder to endure, the ridicule of those who scout the idea of government by means of kindness and moral suasion.

Show me another scheme for accomplishing the same end, as extensive, as complete, as practically arranged as this. It may exist, perhaps, on paper, or in the brain of some one; there is nothing, however, like it actually in operation elsewhere.

Consider this point well. M. Godin is by no means satisfied with these great results. He desires to complete his work, to perfect and finish it. It is better to-day than it was yesterday. M. Godin will spare nothing that it may be better to-morrow than it is to-day.

ED. CHAMPURY.

CO-OPERATION.

From the Preston Guardian, Eng.

Lord Ripon tells us that there are now in this country 2,075 registered Coöperative Societies, and that three years ago, when last the number of members were returned, about 480,000 members of Coöperative Societies in England and Scotland were reckoned. Their total must at the present date considerably exceed half a million; and if each of these co-operators were the head of a family, the population represented by them all would not be far short of three millions. The share capital of the Societies was more than £4,800,000. The goods sold exceeded £16,000,000 sterling in value. The united profits of all the Societies amounted, in 1875, to nearly £1,425,000. Lord Ripon estimates that the 500,000 or more members associated in 1875 have a share capital of more than £5,000,000, and do a business represented by £20,000,000 a year. This aggregate of retail distributive trade has been built up very gradually during about a quarter of a century. There has been nothing fungus-like in the growth of this co-operative system of doing business. It has risen and branched out year by year like our noble English oaks and elms; and the firmness of its roots and the strength of its stem are the results and tokens of the natural and healthy regularity of its development. Lord Ripon remarks, too, that there has been no artificial hot-bed forcing of the sturdy plant. It has not been nourished by Government subsidies. "Its growth has taken place in the open market, subject to the full competition of other industrial organizations. It has grown under the full stress of that keen competition which has existed in every part of the country during this prosperous quarter of a century, and in face of that competition it had attained that position which he had described." The most signally successful department of coöperative trading enterprise hitherto has been, as everybody knows, that of retail distribution of commodities. In this line the value of the system is amply illustrated, and the permanence of its service may be considered as assured. Later, the other and more venturesome line of productive trade has been embarked upon by numerous bands of coöperators. Their coöperation has shared to the utmost the vicissitudes that await individual capitalists. Lord Ripon is not too sanguine as to the fortunes of coöperators in productive business, but he is by no means despondent. His lord-

ship said "he had not himself abandoned the belief which he entertained in earlier days, that the working-classes would derive great advantages from the establishment of associations for production, not only in a pecuniary and material point of view, but far more in the training and education which they would obtain from such institutions. Experience had shown that associations for production were much more difficult to manage than stores. They required much more ability to conduct, and made much larger demands upon self-control, self-denial, and a readiness to submit to guidance by those who were members. Experience had, he thought, shown something more. If he was not mistaken, they must hold that it had shown that productive associations were only likely to be successfully managed by picked men." The highest virtue of the trader, as of the soldier, the patriot, and the moral reformer, is fortitude in the day of adversity and in the face of difficulty. In commerce, as in religion, the admonition to "patient continuance in well-doing," accompanied by the assurance that "in due time we shall reap if we faint not," is one that all of us must lay to heart. A harder time may be in front of us than even that which we are now struggling through. In this severe and crucial conflict the "battle will not be to the strong, nor the race to the swift;" but endurance and tenacity and frugality will be the qualities that shall enable their possessors to survive and surmount the ordeal. And these qualities may be developed and displayed in as many instances by industrial coöperators of the working-classes—schooled as they have been to self-denial and disciplined by poverty in the earlier stages of their lives—as by middle-class capitalists who, it may be, have been nursed on the lap of luxury and long habituated to costly indulgences.

RECEIVED.

MILK FOR BABES, AND CHILDREN'S BREAD. Bible Catechisms, compiled to aid Parents and Teachers. By Samuel Schieffelin. New York. 1875.

A WORD TO CHRISTIAN TEACHERS AND STUDENTS FOR THE MINISTRY. By Samuel Schieffelin. New York: Board of Publication of the Reformed Church in America. 1877.

THE GREAT STRIKE: Its relations to Labor, Property and Government. By E. H. Heywood. Reprinted from the Radical Review Princeton, Mass.: Coöperative Publishing Co. 1878.

ONE THING AND ANOTHER.

The two Houses of Congress have agreed to adjourn on the 17th of June.

Now is the time to suppress the everlasting boy and his fire-crackers on the Fourth of July.

Immigration is looking up. 1,691 new-comers passed muster one day last week at Castle Garden.

You can go on with your factory now. The House has killed Mr. Wood's tariff bill by a vote of 134 to 120.

Russia will take part in an International Congress for the purpose of establishing a bi-metallic money standard.

Europe is having a little spell of quiet while indulging in the trust that the forthcoming Congress will make everything lovely.

Dr. Leonard Bacon, who did much of his early preaching in Talmadge, Ohio, is going to mark the site of his log-cabin with a monument.

Cleopatra's needle was to be towed down the Thames last week and hoisted on a pedestal prepared for it at the Adelphi steps on the embankment, London.

The Senate is not likely to consent to a reduction of the army. It has already expressed its disapproval of that Democratic folly, by a vote of 39 to 19.

Judge Hilton had the Jews after him last year, and now he has the women. "You think aloud too much," Judge, and that is what Bill Mussey used to say to us.

Our American Minister to France has got to come home and be investigated as to those alleged frauds in Louisiana. Caesar's wife ought to be above suspicion.

Life and locomotion have got a new start in New York. The cars on the Metropolitan Elevated Railway carried no less than 30,000 passengers on one of the first days. Round trips are made in forty-eight minutes.

The poor Indian feels the irrepressible conflict stirring within him, and he wants to fight. A regimen of spring air and greens always does it. Already the Bannocks, the Putes and the Nez Perces, are on the war path.

The President is just as ornamental as if there were no invidious Potterings with fraud. He is said to be invited to nine out of ten church and school entertainments given in Washington and within a radius of fifty miles of that city.

Asia absorbed \$100,000,000 in silver last year. In 1873 it took only \$20,000,000. The question is, How much longer shall we find it for Occidental interest to prefer gums, teas, and perishable spices, to indigestible silver bars and coins?

At a grand reunion of the Army of the Potomac, held at Springfield, Mass., the other day, Mr. Beecher addressed a vast hall-full of people at \$5 a head, and there were numbers that had to go away because they could not get seats at that rate.

If Stanley's African explorations have made him so pugnaciously dyspeptic that he can't keep his peace among the

English, why don't he come home? We could manage to rub his quills in the right direction, and may be take the warp out of him.

We had supposed that one could hear enough in this noisy world, but some man, Hughes business it is to know, thinks better, and so he has invented the microphone—an instrument by which you can be made to hear a fly's foot scuffling along a hundred miles away.

Mrs. Tilton has been cited before the Examining Committee of Plymouth Church to answer to the charge of having made a public accusation against a fellow-member (Mr. Beecher), without first bringing the matter before the Church itself, as their discipline requires.

The latest figures show that while France, with a population of 36,000,000, that is, half as much again as England—which has 24,000,000—had an increase of population for 1876 amounting to 132,000, the increase in the latter country reached 205,000, or half as much again as in France.

Go on and hoe your 'taters. We aren't a going to have a revolution. That scare is over. Tammany Hall, the most powerful organization of Democrats in this country, has said that it has no objection to the Potter investigation, but it don't want to hear anything about ousting the President.

Seven hundred miners indulged in a little riotous demonstration near Charleston, West Virginia, Monday, the 3d. They seized a steamboat, and went to another town to stop some other miners at work, and then they captured a railway train and took a free ride. Stop, right where you are!

The Canadians are going to make an end of their annual riot between the Catholics and Orangemen. The Governor-General can now "proclaim" any town, city or district, and any one, except soldiers, policemen and other licenced persons, carrying arms, will be shut up at once in jail and kept there for a year without the option of paying a fine.

The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations says we should pay that Fisheries' Award if the British Government, after hearing our representations on the subject, should "conclude and declare that it was lawfully and honorably due." But we shall have to say that we don't want to buy any more fish on those terms. No, thank you, not any more fish to-day.

There are ways in which to make the procuring of subjects for anatomical study perfectly legitimate. These ways are followed in New York and in some of the other States. They do not give any pain to the living. If Ohio or any other State is too squeamish to provide for the wants of medical science, she will have to take it out in the horrors of body-snatching.

The President has signed the Fort bill, prohibiting any further retirement of greenbacks, and Secretary Sherman takes this spoiling of his financial policy quite cheerfully. He means to be happy whether the country resumes specie payment or not. Some folks seem to think it is their duty to be mad and miserable when things go contrary to their notions, but Sherman isn't that sort of a man, they say.

The Secretary of War, in response to the request of Governor Hartranft, has ordered the shipment of a quantity of arms for distribution to the National Guards of Pennsylvania, which is now organizing and equipping for service against any riotous demonstrations that may be made in any of the large cities or mining districts. Some of the other States are now in correspondence with the Government on the same subject.

If Judge Hilton, when he found that his Women's Hotel didn't pay, had simply announced the fact and turned it into some other kind of a tavern, it would all have been well enough. But he was not content. He undertook to offer a reason why a woman's hotel wouldn't pay. He didn't seem to remember that nothing will arouse the women sooner than a generalization respecting their sex. And so we have had to witness a women's indignation meeting in New York, and all about the Judge and his hotel.

It is quite evident that William E. Anderson (who signed the election returns from East Feliciana Parish, under protest, and thereby gave the State of Louisiana to Hayes) thought that he had got a hook on Stanley Matthews and some of the other visiting statesmen. Judge Levisse, one of the Republican Electors for Louisiana in 1876, has testified before the Potter Committee that he was offered \$100,000 to vote for Tilden, and \$40,000 if he would cast a blank. That was a fine saying of Mr. Potter: "We held the cards, but the Republicans bluffed us."

The Rev. W. H. Murray, of Boston, is still at his work of popularizing religion—wants to get some of the hell and asperity out of it, we suppose, and some more cakes and ale into it, to say nothing of music and trotting horses. His latest scheme is to build a church that will seat 5,000 persons and have a stage for 1,000 singers. His plan is to have something that will combine the edification of preaching, the delights of the opera, the consolation of the confessional and the purification of the bath, all in one building. This is a laudable ambition and one that Communists have a right to indulge in.

Bismarck has taken advantage of the present reaction against German Liberalism, and proposed to the Federal

Council a dissolution of the Reichstag. A new election, it is thought, will return a Parliament without the Socialistic element in it, and also give the Executive room for the exercise of repressive powers. The condition of Germany is yeasty enough, and great changes are looked for. The easy-working French Republic is a constant encouragement to the German Democrats. The old King, strong as he is, cannot last forever, and the Crown Prince, who is now doing the routine work of the Empire, is by no means such a man as his father.

The Committee on Public Lands will report in favor of the bill which provides that all public lands granted by Congress to certain railroad and telegraph lines, which have not been earned under their grants, shall be forfeited to the United States, and be hereafter disposed of as their public lands are. The immediate effect of the passage of the bill will be to give back to the public domain, and make subject to actual settlement, nearly if not quite 100,000,000 acres of the public lands granted by Congress to States and corporations to aid in the construction of railroad and telegraph lines. Some of those lands have been withheld from actual settlers for nearly twenty years.

The attempt of Dr. Charles Edward Nobeling to assassinate the Emperor William on the 2d inst. came very near being successful. He fired twice at the old Kaiser as the latter was riding past Nobeling's house, and hit him in the face and arm with a large number of small shot. The extraction of the shot—thirty-two in all—was a painful affair for the Emperor, but he has been in no particular danger. The would-be assassin attempted to kill himself when arrested, and very nearly succeeded. Nobeling is a journalist, Socialist and academic teacher of Socialism, and his acknowledged connection with something like a conspiracy has done much to frighten the Germans and consolidate the conservative party. The Government will be likely now to carry out the stringent measures it has proposed against free speech and the Socialists; any one expressing anything in Nobeling's favor is promptly arrested.

Mr. G. W. Smalley, writing to the New York *Tribune* from London, says: "A man must write what he believes, and, for my part, I find it impossible to believe in the sincerity of Lord Beaconsfield. To me he is the most sinister figure in English political life since Lord North; and being a man of incomparably finer abilities than Lord North, is capable of incomparably more mischief than George the Third's head clerk. Lord North was only the tool of his sovereign. Lord Beaconsfield has made of his sovereign his tool. He has done a worse thing than that in steadily augmenting the power of the crown at the expense of the House of Commons, a process which has reached its climax, for the present, in the overthrow of a great constitutional guarantee, and the assumption by the Executive of a degree of power over that portion of the army, beyond the confines of England which is nothing short of usurpation. The fact that an obedient majority in the House, following the lead of a pliant colleague, condones the surreptitious moving of the Indian troops to Malta, does not lessen the danger; it increases it."

Elihu Burritt has published a very interesting little book called "Chips from Many Blocks." One feature of it is a series of "talks with small children on the law of kindness." What a master he is of our simple English can be seen in an extract from one of these talks: "There is no power of love so hard to get and keep as a kind voice. A kind hand is deaf and dumb. It may be rough in flesh and blood, and yet do the work of a soft heart, and do it with a soft touch. But there is no one thing that love so much needs as a sweet voice to tell what it means and feels; and it is hard to get and keep it in the right tone. One must start in youth, and be on the watch night and day, at work and play, to get and keep a voice that shall speak at all times the thoughts of a kind heart.".....Some "get a sharp home voice for use, and keep their best voice for those they meet elsewhere, just as they would save their best cakes and pies for guests, and all their sour food for their own board. I would say to all boys and girls, 'Use your guest voice at home. Watch it day by day, as a pearl of great price, for it will be worth more to you in the days to come than the best pearl hid in the sea. A kind voice is a joy like a lark's song to a hearth and home. It is to the heart what light is to the eye. It is light that sings as well as shines. Train it to sweet tones now, and it will keep in tune through life.'"

George Alfred Townsend has been down to the "dark and bloody ground," and he records one of his impressions in this contemptuous and characteristic "put." May be he don't want to go to Kentuck any more: "The only general law I could observe in Kentucky was the law of personal feelings. The leaders are as ambitious and restive as race-horses, and public life is a three-quarter mile dash and repeat. The native Kentuckians are almost reproductions of Irish society in the old country—at least the men are so. Complete happiness is only attained in any small Kentucky community when a duel is on the tapis. Then the great colonels, judges, generals and majors grow mysterious; they meet together and anecdotes cease; they drink their whiskey often, but more impressively. A set of old maids talking about a marriage engagement in their family could not brood more deeply, as if it were a vast human concern. After all, they seldom or never fight, but are content with 'a satisfactory arrangement, sir; a perfectly honorable understanding.' The only tragic part of a Kentucky duel is the deep, permeating cowardice of it; all through it is a gambler's game: The true and upright duels of Kentucky are the assassinations. About these there is no hypocrisy; they are clear daylight advantage and whiskey vengeance, all growing, as I have said, out of the government of personal feelings."

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